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PFWollam/fq/58389
17 June 1963

DRAFT SYLLABUS

COURSE THREE
1963-1964

THE FORMULATION OF NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY

3 - 25 October 1963

THE NATIONAL WAR COLLEGE
Washington 25, D. C.

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JCS review(s)
completed.

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THE NATIONAL WAR COLLEGE
Washington 25, D. C.

(Date

APPROVED.

FRANCIS H. GRISWOLD
Lieutenant General, U. S. Air Force
Commandant

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COURSE THREE

THE FORMULATION OF NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY

* * * *

A - SCOPE OF THE COURSE

1. Introduction.

a. All sovereign states have a national security policy -- sometimes carefully formulated and stated, and sometimes unstated but deduced from the actions or the pronouncements of responsible government officials. As the interests and world influence of a state expand there is an increasing need to set forth in definitive form its national security policy.

b. The process of developing national security policy is one of establishing broad guidance at the national level for action in a particular problem area. In this process consideration must be given not only to the component parts of the governmental structure involved, but also to certain influences over which governmental controls are lacking or are tenuous at best.

c. Course Three is designed to examine certain of the basic factors affecting national security policy in our Government and to develop further for later courses the base of understanding which has already been prepared by Courses One and Two. The course aims to provide an understanding of the governmental machinery concerned with the formulation of U. S. national security policy, how it operates, and the major considerations and problems involved.

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d. In the United States the machinery for developing national security policy has been formalized only in recent years. In enacting the National Security Act of 1947, Congress stated that one of the purposes of the Act was "to provide for the establishment of integrated policies and procedures for the departments, agencies, and functions of the Government relating to the national security." Experience had proved that informal coordination of those Government agencies concerned with the national security was generally inadequate to meet the needs of the World War II period. Until the establishment of the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee in late 1944 as an advisory body to the Secretary of State there was really no official forum devoted exclusively to the discussion of national security problems. This very useful committee, limited as it was in its scope of activity, demonstrated the need for a broader and more authoritative organization.

e. The agency established "to advise the President with respect to the integration of domestic, foreign, and military policies relating to the national security" is the National Security Council. This agency was designed to enable the Departments of State and Defense, and the other departments and agencies of the Government to cooperate more effectively in decisions involving the national security. The use of this organization has varied, depending on the operating style of each President.

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2. Purpose.

To provide an understanding of the governmental machinery concerned with the development of U. S. national security policy, the manner in which this machinery operates, some external influences which affect it, and the major problems involved.

3. Subject Matter.

During the course, the class will examine: (a) certain considerations in the formulation of U. S. national security policy; (b) the influence of major groups in the United States upon the formulation of national security policy; (c) the machinery employed in the integration of military, foreign and domestic policies into national security policy; and (d) the financing of national programs implementing national security policy.

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B - ORGANIZATION OF THE COURSE

<u>Course Day</u>		<u>Page</u>
1	Thursday, 3 October	
	AM The Central Role of the President	7
	PM Reserved for Work on IRP's	
2	Friday, 4 October	
	AM Presidential Advisors	14
	PM Reserved for Work on IRP's	
3	Monday, 7 October	
	AM The Department of State and National Security Policy	22
	PM Department of State Briefing	27
4	Tuesday, 8 October	
	AM The Department of Defense and National Security Policy	28
	PM Department of Defense Briefing	32
5	Wednesday, 9 October	
	AM The Intelligence Community and National Security Policy	33
	PM Central Intelligence Agency Briefing	39
6	Thursday, 10 October	
	AM The Joint Chiefs of Staff and National Security Policy	40
	PM Joint Chiefs of Staff Briefing	44
7	Friday, 11 October	
	AM Congress and National Security Policy	45
	PM Reserved for Work on IRP's	

<u>Course</u> <u>Day</u>	FOR NWC USE ONLY	<u>Page</u>
8	Monday, 14 October	
	Visit to Central Intelligence Agency	51
9	Tuesday, 15 October	
	AM Interest Groups and National Security Policy	52
	AM Mass Media and National Security Policy	58
	PM Reserved for Work on IRP's	
10	Wednesday, 16 October	
	AM Arms Control	64
	PM Arms Control and Disarmament Agency Briefing	70
11	Thursday, 17 October	
	AM Agency for International Development	71
	PM Reserved for Work on IRP's	
12	Friday, 18 October	
	Reserved for Work on IRP's	
13	Monday, 21 October	
	AM Civil Defense	77
	PM Reserved for Work on IRP's	
14	Tuesday, 22 October	
	AM External Research Activities and National Security Policy	83
	PM Reserved for Work on IRP's	
15	Wednesday, 23 October	
	AM The Department of Defense Budget	87
	PM Reserved for Work on IRP's	

<u>Course Day</u>	FOR NWC USE ONLY	<u>Page</u>
16	Thursday, 24 October	
	AM Coordination and Control of U. S. Counterinsurgency Efforts	92
	PM Reserved for Work on IRP's	
17	Friday, 25 October	
	AM Financing National Security	97
	PM Reserved for Work on IRP's	

2. Academic Procedures.

a. Lectures and recommended daily reading will be as indicated in the section "Detailed Program." Reading will continue upon the book assigned in Course One. Completion date is 25 October 1963.

b. There will be meetings of discussion groups following each lecture. Two of these groups will meet with the lecturer of the day in accordance with the provisions of the weekly schedule.

c. There will be no scheduled committee problem.

C - DETAILED PROGRAM

FIRST DAY
THURSDAY, 3 OCTOBER

* * * *

THE CENTRAL ROLE OF THE PRESIDENT

1. Introduction.

a. An appropriate beginning for the course is an examination of the role and responsibilities of the President of the United States in the formulation of national security policy. While the constitution assigns the war-declaring power to the Congress and charges it, among other related duties, with providing "for the common defence and general welfare of the United States," the role of the President has always been central in the establishment of national security policy. This role, although somewhat loosely defined, derives from Article II of the Constitution.

b. The President's traditional role in the field of national security has been expanded in recent years because of a succession of world crises requiring emergency actions. As a result of the present and long term aspects of communist aggression and imperialism, the President is now the foremost influence in the Government from the point of view of formulation, supervision and implementation of national security policy. In addition, the Congress has recognized on numerous occasions the need of the President for extended powers in the national security policy area by endowing him with special authority through the use of the Joint Resolution.

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c. The President may take many independent actions of vital significance to the security of the nation. He may delay entry of the United States into war by means of a neutrality proclamation, or grant aid to one or more of the belligerents. He may acquire base rights abroad by executive agreement, or he may start the machinery of mobilization by proclamation of a national emergency. As Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces the President may issue orders for deployment of U. S. Armed Forces abroad, or by taking other independent actions create situations which make a declaration of war by the Congress little more than a formality. These few examples of the exercise of presidential power indicate that by virtue of his office the President may play the dominant role in the formulation of national security policy.

d. The growth in the President's authority has been received with some misgivings and consequent opposition by some segments of American people and Congress. It has been generally accepted, however, as a necessary concomitant to the requirements of world leadership. There is certainly a growing tendency to look to the President for policy guidance in the field of national security and to hold him responsible for developments in this field.

2. Scope and Purpose of the Topic.

To examine the central role of the President, his powers and his responsibilities in the formulation of national security policy, the

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organization of his Executive Office, and the major problems which confront the President in the accomplishment of this task.

3. Suggested Topics for Consideration.

These questions are posed, not as a guide for the formal lecture, but to stimulate individual study and analysis and for possible use in discussion groups.

a. How does the U. S. Government structure provide means for keeping the President of the United States informed on matters affecting national security policy?

b. What are examples of executive agreements which have led to binding commitments in important matters of security policy?

c. When approving or endorsing a security policy, what methods may the President use in persuading the public to his point of view?

d. How does the present administration employ the National Security Council as compared with the previous administration?

4. Lecture Title.

"THE CENTRAL ROLE OF THE PRESIDENT"

5. Reading.

a. LEADER OR CLERK? by Richard E. Neustadt. A reprint of Chapter 1 from his book, Presidential Power, New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc. 1960. p. 1-8.

b. THE POWER TO PERSUADE, by Richard E. Neustadt. A reprint of Chapter 3 from his book, Presidential Power, p. 33-57.

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c. PRESIDENTIAL POPULARITY IS NOT ENOUGH, by Sydney Hyman. A reprint from The New York Times Magazine, August 12, 1962, p. 1, 64-66.

d. THE PRESIDENT, by Dean Rusk. A reprint from Foreign Affairs, April 1960, p. 353-369.

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6. Bibliography.

THE AMERICAN PRESIDENCY, by Clinton L. Rossiter. New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1956. 175 p.

The powers and limitations of the Presidency, its historical role, and the effect on the office of Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower.

THE DEADLOCK OF DEMOCRACY; FOUR-PARTY POLITICS IN AMERICA, by James MacGregor Burns. Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall, 1963. 388 p.

A study of American political structure and power -- especially the conflict between the President and Congress -- from Jefferson and Madison to contemporary Washington. In addition, presents a "penetrating" examination of modern political parties and concludes with suggestions for changes in our political systems.

EXCELLENCE AND LEADERSHIP IN A DEMOCRACY. Edited by Stephen R. Graubard and Gerald Holton. New York, Columbia University Press, 1962. 222 p.

Outlining past achievements, present challenges and future goals, thirteen well-known scholars offer opinions on the problem of stressing excellence and developing high standards of leadership in a democratic society.

POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT AS COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE ARMY AND NAVY OF THE UNITED STATES. Prepared by Dorothy Schaffer and Dorothy M. Mathews. U. S. Library of Congress. Legislative Reference Service. Washington, GPO, 1956. 145 p. (U. S. Congress. 84th. House doc. no. 443)

A two-part study: first, a chronological listing of major events related to Presidential powers as Commander in Chief of U. S. military forces, 1789-1955. Second, an account of the use of these powers from 1935 through 1955, exclusive of periods of war.

POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT DURING CRISES, by J. Malcolm Smith and Cornelius P. Cotter. Washington, D. C., Public Affairs Press, 1960. 184 p.

Description and comments upon the use of emergency power in the United States since 1933.

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THE PRESIDENT, OFFICE AND POWERS, 1787-1957; HISTORY AND ANALYSIS OF PRACTICE AND OPINION, by Edward S. Corwin. 4th rev. ed. New York, New York University Press, 1957. 519 p.

A documented study.

PRESIDENTIAL DELEGATION OF AUTHORITY IN WARTIME, by Nathan D. Grundstein. Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1961. 106 p.

A collection of three articles published in the George Washington Law Review, in 1947 and 1948, discussing the delegation of Presidential authority during time of war.

PRESIDENTIAL POWER, THE POLITICS OF LEADERSHIP, by Richard E. Neustadt. New York, Wiley, 1960. 224 p.

An analysis of the personal power of the President with an examination of selected cases illustrating its use in carrying out political objectives.

PRESIDENTIAL TRANSITIONS, by Laurin L. Henry. Washington, D. C., The Brookings Institution, 1960. 755 p.

A study of the evolution of the transition process during four twentieth century changes in the Presidency.

PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES: JOHN F. KENNEDY, 1961. U. S. President. Washington, GPO, 1962. 908 p.

The text of President Kennedy's speeches, messages, press conferences during 1961.

THE ULTIMATE DECISION: THE PRESIDENT AS COMMANDER IN CHIEF, Edited with an introduction by Ernest R. May. New York, Braziller, 1960. 290 p.

A collection of essays concerned with the wartime responsibilities of the President as Commander in Chief.

THE ECONOMICS OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES, WITH SPECIAL ATTENTION TO PRESIDENTS EISENHOWER AND KENNEDY, by Seymour E. Harris. New York, Macmillan, 1962. 332 p.

Comparative study of Presidential reactions to various situations and problems. Author is frankly biased toward the Democratic Administration.

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FIRST DAY
THURSDAY, 3 OCTOBER
(Afternoon)

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SECOND DAY
FRIDAY, 4 OCTOBER
(Morning)

* * * *

PRESIDENTIAL ADVISORS

1. Introduction.

a. Every President has the need of the best possible advice and counsel on national security policy as well as on strictly domestic affairs. This need was early recognized in the Constitution which provided for the establishment of the Cabinet. Since World War II the President has been faced with increasingly heavy and complex responsibilities and problems in the field of national security. The need for different types of advice as well as the need for better coordination at the highest level brought about the founding of the National Security Council in 1947. The President may seek assistance from others outside of the framework of these two organizations, and special advisors attached to the immediate staff of the President at the White House Office play an important role in national security matters.

b. The Cabinet. The earliest formal advisory body to the President was the Cabinet created by the Constitution. It was the sense of our Founding Fathers that a formalized council might tend to create plural responsibility and a lack of vigor in the executive branch. As a result, the heads of the executive offices were given authority only under the

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President. While members of the Cabinet administer their own departments under this authority, the Cabinet directly assists the President only as an advisory or consultative body. The Cabinet, per se, is the President's to use when and if he wishes, and there has been considerable variation in the manner each President has chosen to make use of this instrument. Some Presidents have relied heavily upon the Cabinet, while others have acted more independently, or have used other channels. The Cabinet has grown in numbers and is now composed of the heads of ten executive departments. The Vice President participates in all Cabinet meetings, and other officials may be invited to them for a discussion of particular problems. A Special Assistant to the President is designated to provide orderly handling and follow-up of matters brought before the Cabinet.

c. The National Security Council. As a result of experience during World War II and because of the new problems created by the continuing aggression of the Soviet Union after that time, it was determined that the President needed a permanent, very high-level body to assist him in national security policy affairs.

The National Security Act of 1947 established the National Security Council within the executive branch of the Government as a necessary step toward obtaining the highest level coordination of domestic, foreign and military policies relating to national security, as well as

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providing advice to the President. The specified duties of the NSC are to assess and appraise the objectives, commitments, and risks of the United States in relation to its actual and potential military power, in the interests of national security, for the purpose of making recommendations to the President; and to consider policies on matters of common interest to the departments and agencies of the Government concerned with national security.

As with the Cabinet, the role of the National Security Council changes depending on the manner in which the President wishes to use it. The NSC reached its highest degree of organization and use during the administration of President Eisenhower.

d. Special Advisors. In national security matters the current administration has not relied so heavily on the formal structures of either the Cabinet or the National Security Council, although they continue to play important roles. More emphasis has been placed, however, on the use of special advisors within the White House Office. These assist in the decision making process and help to provide coordination between various departments of the Government on special problems. The President's Special Assistants, who are responsible only to the President, help in providing necessary political orientation. They may work through interdepartmental task forces, which cut across usual bureaucratic lines, or in various other

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ways, and they provide the President with an additional means of following up on policies and operations in crisis areas.

2. Scope and Purpose of Topic.

To examine the role of Presidential Advisors in the formulation of national security policy, with emphasis on the National Security Council, the Cabinet, and the White House Office.

3. Suggested Topics for Consideration.

These questions are posed, not as a guide for the formal lecture, but to stimulate individual study and analysis and for possible use in discussion groups.

a. How does the present administration employ the Cabinet as compared with previous administrations?

b. Discuss the composition of the National Security Council with regard to its ability to take into account all the factors of importance in the formulation of national security policy.

c. What are the comparative advantages and disadvantages of using National Security Council machinery versus the "Task Force" concept?

d. Do the various mechanisms available to the President provide the President with the necessary information and recommendations on which to base critical policy decisions in the field of national security? How might the procedure be improved?

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4. Lecture Title.

"PRESIDENTIAL ADVISORS"

5. Reading.

a. HOW THE PRESIDENT RUNS THE WHITE HOUSE, EXCERPTS FROM THE ANNUAL SPERANZA LECTURE AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, APRIL 18 AND MAY 9, 1963, by Theodore Sorensen. In U. S. News and World Report, June 3, 1963, p. 70-72. (It is intended that this reference should be replaced by the text of the lectures when published.)

b. KENNEDY'S WORKING STAFF, by Joseph Kraft. A reprint from Harper's Magazine, December 1962, p. 29-36.

c. THE PRESIDENT AND THE CABINET, by Herbert Finer. A reprint from Chapter V of his book, The Presidency, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1960, p. 215-233.

d. THE CABINET: INDEX TO THE KENNEDY WAY, by Richard F. Fenno, Jr. A reprint from The New York Times Magazine, April 22, 1962, p. 13, 62-64.

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6. Bibliography.

ADMINISTRATION OF NATIONAL SECURITY: BASIC ISSUES.
U. S. Congress. 88th. 1st sess. Senate. Committee on
Government Operations. Washington, GPO, 1963. 20 p.
(Committee Print)

Concerned primarily with administration -- rather than substance --
of national security policy.

AMERICAN SCIENTISTS AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS POLICY, by
Robert Gilpin. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1962.
352 p.

An analysis of the role of the scientist in U. S. national security
process covering events from 1945-1962.

THE CABINET AND CONGRESS, by Stephen Horn. New York,
Columbia University Press, 1960. 310 p.

Examines the relationship between the Cabinet and Congress,
and analyzes the reform proposals which have been made from
Washington's time to the present.

THE INVISIBLE PRESIDENCY, by Louis W. Koenig. New York,
Rinehart, 1960. 438 p.

An examination of the roles taken by seven Presidential
advisors from Alexander Hamilton to Sherman Adams.

ORGANIZING FOR NATIONAL SECURITY. INTERIM REPORT.
U. S. Congress. 86th. 2d sess. Senate. Committee on
Government Operations. Washington, GPO, 1960. 20 p.
(Committee Print)

A survey and analysis of the key issues involved in organizing
for national security.

ORGANIZING FOR NATIONAL SECURITY. SELECTED MATERIALS.
U. S. Congress. 86th. 2d sess. Senate. Committee on
Government Operations. Washington, GPO, 1960. 180 p.
(Committee Print)

A collection of official documents, articles and comments
concerned with the National Security Council.

ORGANIZING FOR NATIONAL SECURITY: STUDIES AND BACK-
GROUND MATERIALS. VOL. 2. U. S. Congress. 87th.
1st sess. Senate. Committee on Government Operations.
Washington, GPO, 1961. 484 p.

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See "Organizational History of the National Security Council,"
p. 411-463.

THE PRESIDENT'S CABINET; AN ANALYSIS IN THE PERIOD FROM
WILSON TO EISENHOWER, by Richard F. Fenno. Cambridge,
Mass., Harvard University Press, 1959. 327 p. (Harvard
political studies)

A political analysis emphasizing functions and relationships of
the President's Cabinet covering the administrations from
Wilson to Eisenhower.

SCIENCE AND THE NATION: POLICY AND POLITICS, by J. Stefan
Dupre and Sanford A. Lakoff. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.,
Prentice-Hall, 1962. 181 p.

Discussion of formulation of U. S. science policy and the role
of scientists in politics.

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SECOND DAY
FRIDAY, 4 OCTOBER
(Afternoon)

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THIRD DAY
MONDAY, 7 OCTOBER
(Morning)

* * * *

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE
AND NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY

1. Introduction.

a. The President, as Chief Executive, has overall responsibility for the direction of the foreign policy of the United States. The Department of State, through the Secretary of State, is the chief advisor to the President in this field and has the primary responsibility for initiating and implementing foreign policies. It studies the bearing of domestic conditions on our foreign policy and correlates the activities of the numerous other Government agencies with specialized interests in some aspects of our foreign relations. The Department of State proposes measures for promoting solidarity with friendly nations and the advancement of American ideals. It develops policies for American participation in the United Nations, and in other international organizations, and instructs our diplomatic and consular representatives overseas. It deals with over a hundred foreign diplomatic missions in Washington. Within the framework of the Department is the Agency for International Development (AID), which has the responsibility for nonmilitary U. S. foreign assistance programs, the U. S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) and the Peace Corps. The Department also establishes policies for the United States Information Agency.

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b. The Secretary of State has a leading role in the formulation of national security policy and he is a statutory member of the National Security Council. Other representatives of the Department hold key positions on various lesser interdepartmental boards and committees operating in the field of national security, including the "task forces" which are often currently used in problem areas. With new pressures and threats from abroad, and with growing U. S. responsibilities throughout the world, the line between "political" and "military" matters has become less distinct. The Department reflects this in the importance now given to politico-military affairs, and in the variety of mechanisms providing for closer coordination and cooperation at all levels between the Departments of State and Defense.

2. Scope and Purpose of the Topic.

To examine the functions of the Department of State in the formulation of national security policy and the processes involved.

3. Suggested Topics for Consideration.

These questions are posed, not as a guide for the formal lecture, but to stimulate individual study and analysis and for possible use in discussion groups.

a. In what respect is national security policy dependent upon the actions of the Department of State?

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b. To what extent is the Department of State sensitive to public opinion in its formulation of foreign policy, and what are the channels through which the Department receives the opinions or the direction of the American public?

c. What types of coordination exist between the Departments of State and Defense for the formulation and implementation of national security policy?

d. What is the relationship between our diplomatic representatives and our military commanders overseas? How are their responsibilities coordinated, and can present arrangements be improved?

4. Lecture Title.

"THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY"

5. Reading.

a. THE SECRETARY AND THE EXECUTION OF FOREIGN POLICY, by Paul H. Nitze. A reprint from Chapter I from The Secretary of State. The American Assembly, Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice Hall, Inc. 1960 p. 4-26.

b. THE SECRETARY AND THE DEVELOPMENT AND COORDINATION OF POLICY, by Robert R. Bowie. A reprint of Chapter III from The Secretary of State, The American Assembly, Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice Hall, Inc., 1960 p. 51-75.

c. THE SECRETARY OF STATE, DOES HE DRIVE OR IS HE DRIVEN, by Theodore H. White. A reprint from Life, June 8, 1962, p. 72-88. (Scan)

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6. Bibliography.

ADDITIONAL MATERIALS ON ADMINISTRATION OF THE
DEPARTMENT OF STATE. U. S. Congress. 87th. 2d sess.
Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. Washington, GPO,
1962. 255 p. (Committee Print)

Details management of the Department at home and overseas.

THE AMERICAN APPROACH TO FOREIGN POLICY, by Dexter
Perkins. Rev. ed. Cambridge, Harvard University Press,
1962. 247 p.

A revised edition of a series of lectures given by the writer
at Uppsala University in 1949.

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY IN THE NUCLEAR AGE: PRINCIPLES,
PROBLEMS, AND PROSPECTS, by Cecil V. Crabb, Jr.
Evanston, Illinois, Row, Peterson, 1960. 532 p.

See "The Department of State: Its Function and Organization,"
p. 62-76.

THE AMERICAN SECRETARY OF STATE; AN INTERPRETATION,
by Alexander DeConde. New York, Praeger, 1962. 182 p.

Historical analysis and biographic interpretation of the Secre-
taryship; with emphasis on his power; personal influence in
forming foreign policies, official and individual influence
exerted in government, and his relationship with the President.

CONDUCT OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY, by Elmer Plischke. 2d ed.
Princeton, Van Nostrand, 1961. 600 p.

An analysis of the fundamental principles, procedures, and
governmental machinery involved in U. S. foreign relations.

DIPLOMAT, by Charles W. Thayer. New York, Harper, 1959.
299 p.

An informative report on diplomatic problems and practices
written by a U. S. diplomat.

FOREIGN POLICY DECISION-MAKING: AN APPROACH TO THE
STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Edited by Richard C.
Snyder, H. W. Bruck and Burton Sapin. New York, Free Press
of Glencoe, 1962. 274 p.

A collection of essays which form a major development in the
scientific study of international relations.

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THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES: ORIGINS, DEVELOPMENT, AND FUNCTIONS, by William Barnes and John Heath Morgan. Washington, Bureau of Public Affairs, Department of State, 1961. 430 p.

A history of the U. S. Foreign Service.

THE GROWTH OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY: A HISTORY, by Richard W. Leopold. New York, Knopf, 1962. 848 p.

An excellent history of U. S. foreign policy, 1775-1961, with emphasis on the period, 1889-1961, by a professor of history at Northwestern University.

JOHN FOSTER DULLES: A REAPPRAISAL, by Richard Good-Adams. New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1962. 309 p.

A report on the views and personality of a controversial, complex American -- and Secretary of State -- by a British writer.

THE LIBERAL PAPERS. Edited by James Roosevelt. Garden City, New York, Doubleday, 1962. 354 p.

Collection of essays which stress the themes of foreign policy and American defense.

PERSONNEL FOR THE NEW DIPLOMACY; REPORT. Committee on Foreign Affairs Personnel. Washington, 1962. 161 p.

An independent and impartial report by the Committee on Foreign Affairs personnel on the personnel problems and needs of the Department of State, including the AID and USIA.

THE SCOPE AND DISTRIBUTION OF UNITED STATES MILITARY AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS. U. S. President's Committee to Strengthen the Security of the Free World. Washington, U. S. Department of State, 1963. 25 p.

At President Kennedy's request, the Committee examined U. S. military and assistance programs to estimate their effect on national security and international economic and political stability.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE. American Assembly. Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall, 1960. 200 p.

Collection of essays which describe and criticize the varied roles and complex relationships that make up the Office of Secretary of State.

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THIRD DAY
MONDAY, 7 OCTOBER
(Afternoon)

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE BRIEFING

1. Scope and Purpose.

To study the functions, organization and operation of the Department of State and the relationship between it and other departments of the Government.

2. Reading.

a. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, 1963. U. S. Department of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, Washington, GPO, 1963. 150 p. (General Foreign Policy Series 187) (Scan)

b. DEPARTMENT OF STATE. In U. S. Government Organization Manual, 1962-63, Washington, GPO, 1962, p. 63-88 (This should be replaced by the corresponding citation in later Organization Manual when published).

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FOURTH DAY
TUESDAY, 8 OCTOBER
(Morning)

* * * *

THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE AND
NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY

1. Introduction.

a. The military and nonmilitary factors in national security are closely related, and in many aspects of security planning they become inseparable. The global connotations of modern war, the increasing political consequences of military decisions at home or abroad, sky-rocketing costs and the necessity for a national strategy under conditions of peace, cold war, or open hostilities, emphasize the role of the Department of Defense in the formulation of national security policy. As a part of his duties the Secretary of Defense is a statutory member of the National Security Council.

b. Military planning is developed within a framework of national objectives and of international political alignments and commitments, tempered constantly by budgetary considerations and scientific developments having military implications. In addition, military planning factors must be weighed against many nonmilitary considerations in the political, economic and psycho-social fields.

2. Scope and Purpose of the Topic.

To examine the functions of the Department of Defense in the formulation of national security policy and the processes involved.

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3. Suggested Topics for Consideration.

These questions are posed, not as a guide for the formal lecture, but to stimulate individual study and analysis and for possible use in discussion groups.

a. In the development of national security policy, how and where does the Department of Defense make a contribution in areas other than the military?

b. How is the development of sound national security policy affected by increasing centralization of operational control within the Department of Defense?

c. What recourse do our military chiefs have when their civilian superiors in the Department of Defense reject their recommendations? To what extent is this recourse effective?

d. What weight is and should be given to domestic political considerations by the Department of Defense in developing national security policy? What weight to strictly military considerations?

e. What advantages will accrue from the assignment to the Secretary of Defense of wide authority and responsibility in the field of civil defense? Discuss.

4. Lecture Title.

"THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE AND NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY."

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5. Reading.

a. STRATEGIC PROGRAMS AND THE POLITICAL PROCESS, and THE GREAT EQUATION, by Samuel P. Huntington. A reprint of Chapters III and IV from his book, The Common Defense, Strategic Programs in National Politics, New York, Columbia University Press, 1961, p. 123-283.

b. THE COMPETITION OF STRATEGIC PROGRAMS, by Samuel P. Huntington. A reprint of Chapter VI from his book, The Common Defense, Strategic Programs in National Politics, New York, Columbia University Press, 1961, p. 369-425.

(This reading is also to be read in conjunction with the later topics on "The Joint Chiefs of Staff and National Security Policy", "Interest Groups and National Security Policy", "The Department of Defense Budget", and "Financing National Security.")

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6. Bibliography.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, July 1, 1961 to June 30, 1962. U. S. Department of Defense. Washington, GPO, 1963. 430 p.

This report was made March 22, 1963, covering the fiscal year 1962.

FORRESTAL AND THE NAVY, by Robert G. Albion and Robert H. Connery. With the collaboration of Jennie Barnes Pope. Foreword by William T. R. Fox. New York, Columbia University Press, 1962. 359 p.

An examination of Forrestal's career in the Navy Department -- from Under Secretary in 1940, through Secretaryship to selection as First Secretary of Defense in 1947 -- a study of the principle of civilian control as applied under modern conditions.

NATIONAL SECURITY ACT OF 1947 (Public Law 253, 80th Congress, July 26, 1947, 61 Stat. 495) as amended through December 31, 1958. U. S. Laws, Statutes, etc. Washington, GPO, 1959. 95 p. (U. S. Congress. 85th. 2d sess. Senate. Committee on Armed Services) (Committee Print)

The act as current law has been arranged to show the effects of amendments from 1949 through 1958 as released December 3, 1958.

ORGANIZING FOR DEFENSE: THE AMERICAN MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, by Paul Y. Hammond. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1961. 403 p.

Examination of military administration as developed in the War and Navy Department, 1900-1960 and the Defense Department, 1947-1960.

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FOURTH DAY
SUNDAY, 20 OCTOBER
(Afternoon)

* * * *

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE BRIEFING

1. Name and Purpose.

To study the functions, organization and operation of the Department of Defense and the relationship between it and the military departments.

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FIFTH DAY
WEDNESDAY, 9 OCTOBER
(Morning)

* * * *

THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY AND
NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY

1. Introduction.

a. In the period between World Wars I and II the U. S. appreciation of the importance and value of intelligence declined. During World War II and the years immediately following, the lack of coordinated intelligence was felt in every theater of war and at numerous conferences.

b. One of the basic proposals of the National Security Act of 1947 was the correction of this situation through the establishment of the Central Intelligence Agency. This Act provides that the CIA will coordinate the intelligence activities of the various Federal agencies concerned with national security and will act as an advisory agency to the National Security Council on intelligence matters.

c. Interagency coordination takes place within the interdepartmental United States Intelligence Board (USIB). The board supervises numerous committees, groups and specialized subcommittees representing the various departments and agencies. Intelligence is introduced into top level policy making only after constant checking, cross checking, and resolution of discrepancies. If a clear-cut difference of opinion does exist, it is stated as such. Although much

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of the coordination takes place within the U. S. Intelligence Board or its subcommittees and working groups, there is also direct coordination and evaluation of military intelligence and estimates within the Defense Intelligence Agency.

d. The process of integrating a number of independent intelligence operations into a common effort naturally encounters difficulties. Progress has been made, however, and today the intelligence effort is being coordinated to a growing degree on a national scale. Two relatively new agencies have been added to the intelligence community.

(1) Within the Department of Defense the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), established in 1961, develops all DOD intelligence estimates and the DOD contribution to the National Estimate for the USIB, cooperates with the CIA and other intelligence organizations for mutual support, reviews and coordinates the intelligence functions assigned to the military departments, provides maximum economy and efficiency of DOD intelligence resources, and satisfies the intelligence requirements of the major components of the DOD.

(2) To provide for an overall and continuing assessment of the intelligence effort of the Government, the President established in 1961 the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board composed of able and experienced individuals outside the Government. The function of this Board is to advise the President with respect to the

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objectives and conduct of foreign intelligence and related activities of the United States which are required in the interests of national security. In performance of its advisory duties the Board conducts a continuing review and assessment of all functions of the CIA and the other departments or agencies having responsibilities in foreign intelligence and related fields. It reports its findings to the President each six months or more frequently as deemed appropriate.

2. Scope and Purpose of the Topic.

To examine the intelligence responsibilities of the various U. S. Government agencies in the process of national security policy formulation, and the Central Intelligence Agency's responsibility for coordinating and providing world-wide intelligence.

3. Suggested Topics for Consideration.

These questions are posed, not as a guide for the formal lecture, but to stimulate individual study and analysis and for possible use in discussion groups.

a. How can the danger of having government agencies introduce their preconceived ideas or agency policies in the production of joint intelligence be minimized?

b. Does the classified nature of the operations of the CIA preclude full utilization of its product in the formulation and implementation of national security policy?

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c. Should the role of the Central Intelligence Agency in the formulation of national security policy be limited to one of providing intelligence only, or would any purpose be served by expanding this role to include active participation in decision making?

d. Considering the democratic principles of our government, discuss the desirability of placing the Central Intelligence Agency under the constant surveillance of a Joint Congressional Committee.

e. What are the arguments, pro and con, for centralizing service intelligence functions under joint control of the JCS?

4. Lecture Title.

"THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY AND NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY."

5. Reading.

a. INTELLIGENCE AND NATIONAL POLICY MAKING, and INTELLIGENCE AND SECURITY: RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT, by Harry Howe Ransom. A reprint of Chapters 8 and 9 from his book Central Intelligence and National Security, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1958, p. 159-216.

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6. Bibliography.

THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY. Washington, 1962. 22 p.

CIA -- its development and the individuals primarily responsible for it.

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AND NATIONAL SECURITY, by Harry H. Ransom. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1958. 287 p.

A critical examination. See Chapter VIII, "Intelligence and National Policy Making," p. 159-164.

INTELLIGENCE AND NATIONAL SECURITY: REPORT. U. S. Congress. 86th. 2d sess. Senate. Committee on Government Operations. Washington, GPO, 1960. 2 p. (Senate rpt. no. 1750)

Provides seven principles which must support intelligence activities of a free society.

PEARL HARBOR: WARNING AND DECISION, by Roberta Wohlstetter. Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1962. 426 p.

Concerned chiefly with the area of intelligence processing and evaluation, a trained analyst of international affairs has compiled a well-researched/documented account of the Pearl Harbor disaster.

SAFEGUARDING OFFICIAL INFORMATION IN THE INTERESTS OF THE DEFENSE OF THE UNITED STATES (THE STATUS OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 10501); TWENTY-FIFTH REPORT. U. S. Congress. 87th. 2d sess. House. Committee on Government Operations. Washington, GPO, 1962. 48 p.

Concerned with methods by which the government regulates the availability of sensitive defense information to the general public.

STRATEGIC INTELLIGENCE AND THE SHAPE OF TOMORROW, by William M. McGovern. Chicago, Regnery, 1961. 191 p.

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Discusses formulation of strategic intelligence based upon the study of the social, economic, political and military activities of various nations.

UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY: THE FORMULATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY. U. S. Congress. 86th. 2d sess. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. Washington, GPO, 1960. 191 p. (Study no. 9)

A study prepared by The Brookings Institution. See Chapter V, "Intelligence, Planning, and Execution," p. 92-96.

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FIFTH DAY
WEDNESDAY, 9 OCTOBER
(Afternoon)

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY BRIEFING

1. Scope and Purpose.

To examine the functions, capabilities and operations of the Central Intelligence Agency, both as an intelligence-gathering and as a coordinating and evaluating agency.

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SIXTH DAY
THURSDAY, 10 OCTOBER

* * * *

THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF AND
NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY

1. Introduction.

a. Today we examine the role of the military in the formulation of national security policy. The National Security Act of 1947 established the Joint Chiefs of Staff within the Department of Defense and provided specifically that they "are the principal military advisors to the President, the National Security Council, and the Secretary of Defense." These advisory responsibilities represent a vital element in security planning.

b. In addition to the JCS responsibilities indicated above, the National Security Act of 1947, as amended, states that no provision of the Act shall be so construed as to prevent a member of the JCS from presenting to the Congress, on his own initiative, after first so informing the Secretary of Defense, any recommendations relating to the Department of Defense that he may deem proper.

2. Scope and Purpose of the Topic.

To examine the manner in which military considerations enter into the formulation of national security policy and the role of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in this formulation. To study examples of the positive use of the military in support of past or present policy.

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3. Suggested Topics for Consideration.

These questions are posed, not as a guide for the formal lecture, but to stimulate individual study and analysis and for possible use in discussion groups.

- a. What reasons can you advance for believing that the military voice does or does not have ample opportunity to be heard and to be given adequate consideration in national security policy formulation?
- b. Are the powers and the position of the JCS properly placed in the hierarchy of those who make and influence national security policy?
- c. What is the significance of the power of the Chairman of the JCS in connection with the expression of JCS opinions?
- d. What examples illustrate the application of military considerations in our present national security policy?

4. Lecture Title.

"THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF AND NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY."

5. Reading.

- a. See reading listed under Fourth Day.
- b. JCS: CHANGES BEING STUDIED. A reprint from Armed Forces Management, January 1962, p. 16-23.

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6. Bibliography.

A HOUSE DIVIDED; AMERICA'S STRATEGY GAP, by Melvin R. Laird. Chicago, H. Regnery Co., 1962. 179 p.

Analysis of the foreign and military problems confronting all Americans -- regardless of their position or politics.

CHANGING PATTERNS OF MILITARY POLITICS. Edited by Samuel P. Huntington. New York, Free Press of Glencoe, 1962. 272 p.

Discusses the implications for civil-military relations of: the balance of terror, the decline of empire, the process of technological development, recent collective security arrangements, and, also, theoretically and empirically introduces -- and suggests methods of solution -- new problems for social science research.

THE COMMON DEFENSE; STRATEGIC PROGRAMS IN NATIONAL POLITICS, by Samuel P. Huntington. New York, Columbia University Press, 1961. 500 p.

An analysis of U. S. military policy and its formulation during the period 1945-1960, with emphasis on the political process by which defense policy is determined.

THE MAN ON HORSEBACK; THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY IN POLITICS, by Samuel E. Finer. New York, Praeger, 1962. 268 p.

An examination of military intervention in the internal affairs of a country -- treated as a world-wide phenomena -- its motives, causes, methods and consequences are detailed and systematized.

MILITARY COLD WAR EDUCATION AND SPEECH REVIEW POLICIES: REPORT. U. S. Congress. 87th. 2d sess. Senate. Committee on Armed Services. Washington, GPO, 1962. 203 p.

A report on contemporary civil-military relations.

THE NECESSITY FOR CHOICE: PROSPECTS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, by Henry A. Kissinger. New York, Harper, 1960. 370 p.

An examination of the relationship between contemporary military-political problems and the formulation and execution of U. S. foreign policy.

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ORGANIZING FOR DEFENSE: THE AMERICAN MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, by Paul Y. Hammond. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1961. 403 p.

Examination of military administration as developed in the War and Navy Department, 1900-1960 and the Defense Department, 1947-1960.

QUESTION OF NATIONAL DEFENSE, by Oskar Morgenstern. New York, Random House, 1959. 306 p.

Details the position and strength of the U. S. in regard to American strategy, technology, economics, and diplomacy.

THE SOLDIER AND THE STATE, by Samuel P. Huntington. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1957. 534 p.

An analysis of American experience and current problems in civil-military relations.

THE STRUCTURE AND OPERATION OF TOP-LEVEL MILITARY COMMAND, by Robert W. Callan and W. T. Kinsella. Santa Barbara, Calif., TEMPO, General Electric Co., 1962. 67 p.

This paper is intended to give some background information of the complex operation, at the top level, of military command.

TOTAL WAR AND COLD WAR: PROBLEMS IN CIVILIAN CONTROL OF THE MILITARY. Edited by Harry L. Coles. Conference on Civil-Military Relations, Columbus, Ohio State University Press, 1962. 300 p.

Essays concerned with civil-military relations in an era of total/cold war.

TOWARDS AN AMERICAN ARMY: MILITARY THOUGHT FROM WASHINGTON TO MARSHALL, by Russell F. Weigley. New York, Columbia University Press, 1962. 297 p.

A history of the controversies that have surrounded the growth and development of the U. S. military.

UNITED STATES DEFENSE POLICIES IN 1961. U. S. Library of Congress. Legislative Reference Service. Washington, GPO, 1962. 173 p. (U. S. Congress. 37th. 2d sess. House doc. no. 502) (1 per committee)

Prepared at the request of Congressman Price by Colonel Charles E. Donnelly, it includes a description of strategic policies, control, strength, organization and equipment of armed forces, manpower, budgetary, fiscal and procurement policies during the year.

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SIXTH DAY
THURSDAY, 10 OCTOBER
(Afternoon)

* * * *

JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF BRIEFING

1. Scope and Purpose.

To study the operations of the JCS with particular attention to the exercise of direction over commanders of unified and specified commands and to consider proposals for modification of the unified command plan.

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SEVENTH DAY
FRIDAY, 11 OCTOBER
(Morning)

* * * *

CONGRESS AND NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY

1. Introduction.

a. The legislative branch of our Government cannot only initiate policy but may also reshape policy originating in the executive branch during its process of confirmation and adoption. Congress as a body, and its individual members who have gained statesman stature, exert a potent influence on policy determination.

b. The U. S. Constitution empowers the Congress to provide for the common defense, declare war, raise and support the armies, provide and maintain a navy, call forth the militia and make rules for the governing of the military establishment. Congress has the additional power to regulate commerce with foreign countries. Congressional hearings and special investigations have emerged as a primary vehicle of congressional activity in foreign affairs. The approval of treaties, the appointment of ambassadors, foreign service officers and military officers require the advice and consent of the Senate. Congress has the responsibility to the people of the United States to represent their interests and to protect and promote the welfare of the nation. Such responsibilities may seem to conflict sometimes and in some ways with proposed national security policy. In such cases Congress may

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introduce delays or force adoption of a different or a compromise policy.

c. In order to understand the influence and power wielded by the Congress we must first examine its actual participation in the formulation of policy, and then study its legislative function of financing the implementation of policy. Once this broad picture is understood the reasons for congressional actions may become more clear and the powerful role of Congress in the field of national policy better appreciated.

2. Scope and Purpose of the Topic.

To study the responsibilities and some of the specific tasks facing the Congress in the formulation of national security policy and to gain an appreciation of the influence which the Congress exerts in this field.

3. Suggested Topics for Consideration.

These questions are posed, not as a guide for the formal lecture, but to stimulate individual study and analysis and for possible use in discussion groups.

a. When serious disagreement has arisen between the executive and legislative branches of the Government concerning national security policy, how has it been resolved?

b. To what extent does the Congress influence national security policy apart from its financial controls?

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c. What committees of the Congress exercise the greatest influence on the formulation of national security policy? How is coordination effected between the various committees?

d. In the area of national security policy, what safeguards does the Congress hold to prevent the President from implementing his policy desires entirely without congressional approval?

4. Lecture Title.

"CONGRESS AND NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY."

5. Reading.

a. See reading listed under Fourth Day, (Department of Defense and National Security Policy) with emphasis on Chapter 3 of The Common Defense.

b. THE DYNAMIC AND DILEMMA OF THE AMERICAN CONGRESS, by Alfred J. Junz. In Present Trends in American National Government, edited by Alfred J. Junz, New York, Praeger, 1961, p. 142-154.

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3. Bibliography.

ACTIVITIES OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS; REPORT...INCLUDING AN APPENDIX ON THE ORGANIZATION AND OPERATION OF CONGRESS, U. S. Congress. 88th. 1st sess. Senate. Committee on Government Operations. Washington, GPO, 1963. 697 p.

A study of Congress, the functioning of the legislative process, and recommendations for improvements.

THE AMERICAN CONGRESS, by Roland A. Young. New York, Harper, 1950. 333 p.

Develops a frame of reference for the examination of the role taken by Congress in formulating policy.

THE COMMITTEE AND ITS CRITICS; A CALM REVIEW OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, by William F. Buckley, Jr. and the editors of National Review. New York, Putnam, 1962. 352 p.

A generally friendly and favorable appraisal of the aims and activities of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

CONGRESS AND FOREIGN POLICY-MAKING; A STUDY IN LEGISLATIVE INFLUENCE AND INITIATIVE, by James A. Robinson. Homewood, Ill., Dorsey Press, 1962. 262 p.

Utilizing case studies, interviews with congressmen and Department of State liaison officials, the personal and public papers of key personnel in foreign policy development since the 1930s, the author examines the role of Congress in foreign policy-making.

CONGRESS AND THE AMERICAN TRADITION, by James Burnham. Chicago, Regnery, 1959. 365 p.

Details the basic principles of American government, including an assessment of the present position of Congress and an evaluation of its future.

CONGRESS, ITS CONTEMPORARY ROLE, by Ernest S. Griffith. 3d rev. ed. New York, New York University Press, 1961. 244 p.

An account of the place of Congress in modern American society.

FRAME OF GOVERNMENT: A BOOK OF DOCUMENTS, by Henry W. Bragdon, Samuel P. McCutchen and Stuart G. Brown. New York, Macmillan, 1962. 293 p.

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A collection of basic documents which empower, guide and limit the U. S. government today.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, by George B. Calloway. Washington, GPO, 1962. 216 p. (U. S. Congress. 87th. 1st sess. House doc. no. 246)

Written by a senior specialist in American government and public administration in the Legislative Reference Service at the Library of Congress.

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS, by Holbert N. Carroll. Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh, 1958. 365 p.

A critical analysis of Congressional influence on the formulation and financing of U. S. foreign policies since World War II.

LEGISLATIVE POLITICS U.S.A.; CONGRESS AND THE FORCES THAT SHAPE IT. READINGS. Edited by Theodore J. Lewis. Boston, Little, Brown, 1962. 326 p.

Selected readings concerned with representative government -- from Null to Lippmann.

SENATORIAL POLITICS AND FOREIGN POLICY, by Malcolm E. Jewell. Lexington, University of Kentucky Press, 1962. 214 p.

Discussion of postwar development of bipartisan foreign policy, with emphasis on the difficulties encountered in conducting increasingly complex foreign relations in a democracy. Concludes that increasing political party responsibility is the best assurance for the establishment of a strong and consistent foreign policy.

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SEVENTH DAY
FRIDAY, 11 OCTOBER
(Afternoon)

RESERVED FOR WORK ON IRP'S

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EIGHTH DAY
MONDAY, 14 OCTOBER

VISIT TO CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

1. Reading.

- a. THE CRAFT OF INTELLIGENCE, by Allen W. Dulles.
A reprint from Harper's Magazine, April 1963, p. 129-174. (Scan)

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NINTH DAY
TUESDAY, 15 OCTOBER
(Morning)

* * * *

INTEREST GROUPS AND NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY

1. Introduction.

a. Since World War II and especially because of the Cold War there has been a broadening of interest in all aspects of national security policy on the part of the American public. One result of this has been an increase in the number of pressure groups endeavoring to influence the United States Government in the conduct of its national security policy and international relations as well as in strictly domestic affairs. Pressure groups operate not only outside the Government but also within the bureaucracy, both civilian and military.

b. There is an infinite variety of pressure groups in the general field of national security. These range from political parties dissatisfied with the national posture, to ethnic, religious, regional or economic groups with special interests. They range from highly intelligent and serious people and groups to those with narrow pecuniary interests and to the so-called "Lunatic fringe" - from those with the highest sense of patriotism to those seeking to subvert the American system. In the give and take of politics the aspirations and desires of many of these groups must be accommodated.

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c. There are also many ways in which interest groups are able to effect national security policy, as can the Government itself. All of the communications media are available to those who can obtain financing. Pressure groups attempt to exert influence on every phase and at every level of the political process. In addition to old style lobbyists employed by domestic and foreign groups, recent developments in the molding of public and/or Government opinion include the widespread use of institutional advertising, establishment of foundations, committees, councils and institutes formed to advance some particular thesis. The distinction between what is a useful and necessary service and what is designed to promote some narrow interest must be carefully made.

d. During the past year the activities of foreign lobbyists or Americans serving foreign interests in what Senator Fulbright called "attempts by foreign governments or their agents to influence the conduct of American foreign policy by techniques outside normal diplomatic channels," has been the subject of special scrutiny, especially since a number of these worked directly against announced U. S. policy. American democracy is based on the premise that the people, if provided sufficient information, can be trusted to make correct decisions. It often seems that the people need more information about the operations and methods of pressure groups since,

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states a congressional study, "an informed and vigilant public is the only lasting guaranty that pressure groups will operate in an open and aboveboard manner."

2. Scope and Purpose of Topic.

To examine the ways in which various interest groups (public and private, domestic and foreign) influence the formulation of national security policy.

3. Suggested Topics for Consideration.

These questions are posed, not as a guide for the formal lecture, but to stimulate individual study and analysis and for possible use in discussion groups.

a. To what extent should the U. S. Government permit the activities in the United States of agents of foreign governments attempting to influence the public against announced U. S. policies?

b. How is the Government able to obtain support for national security policies?

c. To what extent are the military services pressure groups in the field of national security?

d. In what areas do domestic considerations override international policy considerations? What is the net advantage or disadvantage to the United States?

e. What type of interest groups are helpful in national security matters, and how should they operate?

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4. Lecture Title.

"INTEREST GROUPS AND NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY."

5. Reading.

a. See reading in The Common Defense listed under Fourth Day.

b. ORGANIZED INTEREST GROUPS IN AMERICAN NATIONAL POLITICS, by David B. Truman, In Present Trends in American National Government, edited by Alfred J. Junz, New York, Praeger, 1961, p. 126-141.

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6. Bibliography.

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY IN THEORY AND PRACTICE; THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, by Robert K. Carr and others. 3d. ed. New York, Rinehart, 1959. 388 p.

See Chapter 9, "The Role of Interest Groups and Public Opinion," p. 196-223.

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY IN THE NUCLEAR AGE: PRINCIPLES, PROBLEMS, AND PROSPECTS, by Cecil V. Crabb, Jr. Evanston, Ill., Row, Peterson, 1960. 532 p.

See Chapter 7, "Public Opinion and Decision Making," p. 145-169.

AMERICAN GOVERNMENTAL PROBLEMS, by Willis G. Swartz. Princeton, Van Nostrand, 1961. 363 p.

See Chapter III, "Democracy under Pressure: The Problem of Pressure Groups and Propaganda," p. 32-44.

GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, by James MacGregor Burns. 4th ed. Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall, 1960. 948 p.

See Chapter 12, "The Dynamic Role of Interest Groups," p. 287-313.

THE NAVY LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES, by Armin Rappaport. Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 1962. 271 p.

A history of the Navy League, a civilian organization, which has consistently endorsed increased appropriations for naval forces, and has also pointed out the dangers inherent in a defenseless U. S.

POLITICS IN THE UNITED STATES: READINGS IN POLITICAL PARTIES AND PRESSURE GROUPS. Edited by Henry A. Turner, Jr. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1955. 436 p.

Politicians, political commentators and political scientists describe current practices in the areas of public opinion and the political process, pressure groups, and the organization and functions of the party system.

THE SEMISOVEREIGN PEOPLE; A REALIST'S VIEW OF DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA, by E. E. Schattschneider. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960. 147 p.

See Chapter II, "The Scope and Bias of the Pressure System," p. 20-46, and Chapter III, "Whose Game Do We Play," p. 47-61.

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U. S. SENATORS AND THEIR WORLD, by Donald R. Matthews.
Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1960. 303 p.

A description and explanation of contemporary United States
Senators. Chapter VIII deals with lobbyists and interest groups.

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NINTH DAY
TUESDAY, 15 OCTOBER
(Morning)
(Second Topic)

* * * *

MASS MEDIA AND NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY

1. Introduction.

a. Closely associated with the topic of "interest groups" is that of the mass media and national security policy. The press, radio, television and movies undoubtedly exercise one of the greatest influences on the American public and through it upon national security policy. These media both reflect and mold public opinion; they are instruments of both the public and the government in a free society.

b. Freedom of the press (and other communications media) is a highly prized possession of a democracy, and it is envied by those who lack this freedom. This freedom, however, creates its own problems. In 1787 Thomas Jefferson, pursuing democratic ideals, in theory would have chosen "newspapers without a government" rather than "government without newspapers." By 1807, however, although he remained basically sympathetic, Jefferson wrote to a friend that, "Nothing can now be believed which is seen in a newspaper," and that, "Truth itself becomes suspicious by being put into that polluted vehicle." He looked with commiseration at his fellow citizens "who, reading newspapers, live and die in the

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belief, that they have known something of what has been passing in the world in their time..."

c. It is easy to oversimplify the problems which arise between a democratic government and a free press. To some extent each attempts to use the other for its own purposes. The government tries to suppress information which might harm security efforts. It is accused of attempting to build a favorable image and of trying to mold public opinion not only through the usual press and public relations efforts, but also through granting interviews to privileged correspondents and through "controlled leaks", or "managing the news", to name a few processes. One department may go to the press to obtain public support for its programs at the expense of another. An alert press can air differences or irregularities about which the public should know.

d. On the other hand, some elements of the press seem more interested in sensation than in balance. Irresponsibility in the portrayal of events can be particularly harmful in the fields of international relations and national security. The American "image" overseas suffers from some of the productions of all media. The American press is extremely revealing concerning security efforts in comparison with those of other nations, despite numerous security regulations. The problem of striking the best balance between secrecy on one hand and government publicity on the other with relation to the

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flow of information necessary to a free and responsible press in democratic society is a continuing one.

2. Scope and Purpose of Topic.

To examine the role of the press and other mass communications media in molding and reflecting public opinion on matters affecting national security policy.

3. Suggested Topics for Consideration.

These questions are posed, not as a guide for the formal lecture, but to stimulate individual study and analysis and for possible use in discussion groups.

a. Extremist dictatorships of the left and right "have no problems with the mass media." What is the net effect of this type censorship on the population?

b. Woodrow Wilson once stated, "we believe that it is a fair presumption that secrecy means impropriety... Government must, if it is to be pure and correct in its processes, be absolutely public in everything that affects it." Comment on this statement in terms of current national security policy.

c. How can the Government keep the public fully informed without (1) laying itself open to charges of partisanship (2) providing information which will be useful to enemies?

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d. To what extent should rivalries between the services, such as disagreements on roles and missions or weapons systems, be aired in the press?

4. Lecture Title.

"MASS MEDIA AND NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY."

5. Reading.

a. MANAGED NEWS - OUR PEACETIME CENSORSHIP, by Hansen W. Baldwin. A reprint from Atlantic, April 1963, p. 53-59.

b. GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC OPINION, by Frances E. Rourke. A reprint of Chapter 1 from his book, Secrecy and Publicity, Baltimore Johns Hopkins Press, 1961, p. 3-17.

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6. Bibliography.

COSTS OF DEMOCRACY, by Alexander Heard. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1960. 493 p.

A comprehensive study of the sources of campaign funds and their effect within the parties and on the nomination of the candidates.

DIPLOMACY IN A DEMOCRACY, by Henry M. Wriston. New York, Harper, 1956. 115 p.

Details the role of the diplomat in a democratic society and the relationship between public opinion and diplomacy as it has developed historically.

PUBLIC OPINION AND AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, by Valdimer O. Key. New York, Knopf, 1961. 506 p.

An analytical study of public opinion and its bearing on the government of the United States.

SECRECY AND PUBLICITY: DILEMMAS OF DEMOCRACY, by Francis E. Rourke. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1961. 236 p.

A systematic examination of issues that result from governmental control of official information.

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE; READINGS IN PUBLIC OPINION AND PROPAGANDA, by Reo M. Christenson and Robert O. McWilliams. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1962. 585 p.

A book of nontechnical readings.

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NINTH DAY
TUESDAY, 15 OCTOBER

(Afternoon)

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TENTH DAY
WEDNESDAY, 16 OCTOBER
(Morning)

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ARMS CONTROL

1. Introduction.

a. Today we will briefly examine the history of past negotiations for regulating armaments, the role and functions of the United Nations organization in armaments regulations, and the problems inherent in reaching effective agreements in this area.

b. Prior to the Soviet extensive atmospheric tests of over forty weapons, including a reduced version of a 100 megaton bomb, during the months of September, October, and November 1961, there were some cautious hopes that agreements might be reached leading to the effective reduction and control of armaments. An analysis of the 1961 Soviet tests left the President of the United States with no choice but to resume nuclear tests in the atmosphere. The problem of reaching workable agreements takes on an air of urgency when it is realized that many countries not in possession of nuclear weapons at the moment have the capability to produce them and many will actually do so within the next few years.

c. The term disarmament, as used with reference to international negotiations, has economic, political, and psychological implications

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as well as military. Disarmament generally is taken to mean reduction of military forces to a level sufficient to maintain internal security but inadequate for offensive operations. The military connotation of disarmament now includes inspection systems, control and supervision of armaments and armed forces, and even control of international traffic in armaments.

2. Scope and Purpose of the Topic.

To examine the possibility and means of regulating armaments, the current problems in negotiating such regulation with the U. S. S. R. , and the implications for U. S. national security policy.

3. Suggested Topics for Consideration.

These questions are posed, not as a guide for the formal lecture, but to stimulate individual study and analysis and for possible use in discussion groups.

a. Under its present organization is the U. N. the proper agency for effecting the reduction and control of world armaments?

b. On the assumption that stage by stage agreements between the U. S. and the U. S. S. R. can be reached, will they lessen the tensions and distrust existing between the two countries, or might they lead to greater suspicion and intensification of differences?

c. How large a part must good will and trust play in the success of agreements to limit and control armaments? Does political agreement have to precede disarmament agreements?

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d. Proposals for the reduction, limitation or control of armaments, no matter how irrational, have a tremendous impact on world public opinion. The U. S. S. R. has, in the past, used such proposals in furtherance of its propaganda campaigns. What criteria might be established by U. S. negotiators to determine the sincerity of Soviet proposals for regulating armaments? Discuss in light of recent initiation by the Soviets of nuclear tests.

e. "Disengagement" has been suggested as a first step to further reduction of arms. What would be its effects on NATO and on our overseas bases?

f. Which should have priority, the control of weapons, or the control of weapons delivery systems?

g. What is the zonal concept of arms control? What are the arguments for unilateral arms reduction?

h. Can an effective reduction in armaments be achieved without the inclusion of Red China?

4. Lecture Title.

"ARMS CONTROL."

5. Reading.

a. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT. A reprint from The Department of State Bulletin, January 28, 1963, p. 115-127.

b. THE DISARMAMENT DEADLOCK, by Bernhard G. Bechhoefer. A reprint from Current History, May 1962, p. 257-309 (Scan)

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c. BALANCE SHEET ON DISARMAMENT, by John J. McCloy.
A reprint from Foreign Affairs, April 1962, p. 339-359.

d. U. S. PRESENTS WORKING PAPER ON MEASURES TO REDUCE
RISK OF WAR. A reprint from The Department of State Bulletin,
December 31, 1962, p. 1019-1025.

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6. Bibliography.

ARMS AND ARMS CONTROL: A SYMPOSIUM. Edited by Ernest W. Lefever. New York, Published for the Washington Center of Foreign Policy Research by Praeger, 1962. 334 p.

Useful compilation of readings selected from the existing volume of literature on the subject.

ARMS CONTROL, DISARMAMENT, AND NATIONAL SECURITY. Edited by Donald G. Brennan. New York, Braziller, 1961. 475 p.

A series of essays originally published in Daedalus, the Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

ARMS CONTROL: ISSUES FOR THE PUBLIC. American Assembly, Columbia University. Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1961. 207 p.

A consideration of the issues which determine the arms policies of the U. S. and the prospects for disarmament. Includes historical review, influence on U. S. foreign policy, security factors, and Soviet and European views, all by distinguished contributors.

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF DISARMAMENT. U. S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Washington, GPO, 1962. 28 p.

The well publicized report prepared at the request of the executive branch.

THE NATION'S SAFETY AND ARMS CONTROL, by Arthur T. Hadley. New York, Viking, 1961. 160 p.

A thoughtful examination of the issues and technical problems involved in the establishment of a stable deterrent coupled with effective international inspection.

POSTWAR NEGOTIATIONS FOR ARMS CONTROL. Edited by Bernard G. Bechhoefer. Washington, The Brookings Institution, 1961. 641 p.

Thorough historical analysis of negotiations on arms control from the end of World War II to the present, including a chapter on possible future directions.

SECOND ANNUAL REPORT TO CONGRESS, JANUARY 1, 1962-DECEMBER 31, 1962. United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Washington, GPO, 1963. 102 p.

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Transmitted to Congress by the President February 4, 1963, the report outlines the activities of the Agency and contains appendixes giving draft treaties as submitted during 1962, and other pertinent documents.

TOWARD A WORLD WITHOUT WAR, A SUMMARY OF UNITED STATES DISARMAMENT EFFORTS--PAST AND PRESENT. U. S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Washington, GPO, 1962. 28 p. (U. S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency Publication 10)

A short history of disarmament efforts followed by an analysis of the U. S. proposed disarmament plan.

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TENTH DAY
WEDNESDAY, 16 OCTOBER
(Afternoon)

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ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY BRIEFING

1. Introduction.

a. The United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency was established 26 September 1961 and succeeded the United States Disarmament Administration.

b. The Agency is responsible for the conduct, support, and coordination of research for arms control and disarmament policy formulation; the preparation for and management of United States participation in international negotiations in the arms control and disarmament field; the dissemination and coordination of public information concerning arms control and disarmament; and the preparation for, operation of, or, as appropriate, direction of United States participation in such international control systems as may under treaty arrangements become part of United States arms control and disarmament activities.

2. Scope and Purpose of the Topic.

To become familiar with the objectives, operations, and problems of the U. S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

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ELEVENTH DAY
THURSDAY, 17 OCTOBER
(Morning)

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AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

1. Introduction.

a. The Agency for International Development, the successor of the International Cooperation Administration and the Development Loan Fund, was established in November 1961 by Executive Order under authority contained in Public Law 87-195.

b. The Agency has responsibility for carrying out nonmilitary U. S. foreign assistance programs and for continuous supervision and general direction of all assistance programs under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and acts making appropriations thereunder. It also carries out certain functions under the act of September 8, 1960, to provide for Latin American development and Chilean reconstruction, and under the Agricultural Trade and Development Act of 1954, as amended.

c. AID performs its functions as an agency within the Department of State. The Administrator reports directly to the Secretary of State and the President and is charged with central direction and responsibility for the economic assistance program and coordination of the military economic assistance programs. The headquarters office in Washington is responsible for the broad formulation, coordination, and support of the various programs which are carried on in cooperation with other countries of the free world.

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and support of the various programs which are carried on in cooperation with other countries of the free world.

2. Scope and Purpose of the Topic.

To become familiar with the objectives, operations, and problems of the U. S. economic assistance program.

3. Suggested Topics for Consideration.

These questions are posed, not as a guide for the formal lecture, but to stimulate individual study and analysis and for possible use in discussion groups.

- a. What are the reasons for assistance programs?
- b. The most successful assistance program is probably the Marshall Plan. How can we assure similar success in the Alliance for Progress?
- c. Does the United States really expect to be repaid some of its long term, low interest loans?
- d. Differentiate between long term and short term objectives in AID programs.
- e. What efforts are being made to convince other free world countries to share the AID burden? How successful have these efforts been to date?

4. Lecture Title.

"ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE AND WORLD STABILITY."

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5. Reading.

a. AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT. In Department of State, 1963. U. S. Department of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, Washington, GPO, 1963. (General foreign policy series 187) p. 133-138.

b. MEETING THE SOVIET ECONOMIC CHALLENGE, by Philip H. Trezise. A reprint from The Department of State Bulletin, April 9, 1962, p. 592-596

c. ACT FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF 1961. A reprint from U. S. Laws, Statutes, etc. (Public Law 87-195, 87th Congress, September 4, 1961.) Washington, GPO, 1961. p. 1-2, 21-33.

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6. Bibliography.

AN ACT FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT; A PROGRAM FOR THE DECADE OF DEVELOPMENT, SUMMARY PRESENTATION, FISCAL YEAR 1962. U. S. President's Task Force on Foreign Economic Assistance. Washington, GPO, 1961. 139 p.

An official State Department publication designed to gain support for the President's new foreign aid program. The result was Public Law 87-195, 87th Congress.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1962. REPORT. U. S. Congress. 87th. 2d sess. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. Washington, GPO, 1962. 95 p. (Senate rpt. no. 1835)

A basic source for a survey of the basic aims, scope and methods of the U. S. foreign aid program. Includes Foreign Assistance Act of 1962 (Public Law 87-195) and proposed amendments.

A PRIMER OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, by Robert J. Alexander. New York, Macmillan, 1962. 218 p.

A summary of the principle aspects and problems of economic development written in non-technical language and based on the author's on the spot study of Latin America.

THE STORY OF A.I.D. U. S. Agency for International Development. Washington, 1962. n.p.

Thumb-nail sketch of AID's mission and activities.

U. S. FOREIGN ASSISTANCE AND ASSISTANCE FROM INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS; OBLIGATIONS AND LOAN AUTHORIZATIONS, JULY 1, 1945-JUNE 30, 1961. U. S. Agency for International Development. Statistics and Reports Division. Washington, 1961. 130 p.

Statistics on postwar foreign assistance to MSP countries covering the period to June 30, 1961.

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ELEVENTH DAY
THURSDAY, 17 OCTOBER
(Afternoon)

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TWELFTH DAY
(Morning)

RESERVED FOR WORK ON IRP'S

(Afternoon)

WORLD SITUATION ROUND-UP

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THIRTEENTH DAY
MONDAY, 21 OCTOBER
(Morning)

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CIVIL DEFENSE

1. Introduction.

a. In a reappraisal of civil defense measures, the President concluded that adequate protection of the civil population requires a substantial strengthening of the national civil defense capability. The achievement of this requirement would be accomplished most effectively and efficiently through performance by the regular departments and agencies of the Government of those civil defense functions related to their established roles and capabilities. Certain responsibilities were assigned to the Secretary of Defense, including the fallout shelter program and others. The Director of the Office of Emergency Planning, which succeeded the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization, was assigned the responsibility to advise and assist the President in civil defense matters, develop plans, conduct programs and coordinate preparations for continuity of Federal, State and local government operations in event of attack. Certain other civil defense functions were reserved for the President.

b. The civil defense program assigned to the Department of Defense includes large-scale identification and marking of shelter

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places in existing buildings as well as stocking them with necessary supplies and equipment. The 1964 budget provides for sizable Federal incentive grants for shelter construction in selected community buildings, such as schools and hospitals, and the continuation of surveying and marking of existing shelters. It is also planned to stock and equip public shelter spaces with a capacity of 50 or more persons, including those identified in the surveys as well as the shelters resulting from the new grant program.

c. Other existing civil defense activities in the Defense Department are expected to be accelerated in 1964. These include warning and alerting programs, radiological monitoring and instrumentation, contributions to State and local governments for civil defense, personnel and administrative costs, provisions of fallout shelters in existing Federal buildings, and education and information.

2. Scope and Purpose of the Topic.

To examine the role of the Office of Civil Defense, Department of Defense, with emphasis on its programs and relations with State and local authorities and the Office of Emergency Planning, Executive Office of the President.

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3. Suggested Topics for Consideration.

These questions are posed, not as a guide for the formal lecture, but to stimulate individual study and analysis and for possible use in discussion groups.

- a. To what extent can civil defense preserve an industrial base?
- b. Is it possible in peacetime to mobilize U. S. industry, labor and natural resources to fight an all-out economic war? Discuss.
- c. Do you consider the present organization for civil defense and emergency planning adequate to meet the threat of nuclear attack? Discuss.
- d. In some quarters it is held that an effective civil defense adds to our deterrent to enemy attack, while in others it is held that civil defense measures invite attack. Discuss.
- e. Do you consider present stockpiles of foodstuffs and strategic materials to be excessive?

4. Lecture Title.

"CIVIL DEFENSE."

5. Reading.

- a. NEW CIVIL DEFENSE PROGRAM. A reprint from the Report by the Committee on Government Operations, Washington, GPO, 1961, p. 1-70. (U. S. Congress 87th 1st Session, House Report No. 1249.) Scan

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6. Bibliography.

AMERICAN STRATEGY FOR THE NUCLEAR AGE. Edited by Walter F. Hahn and John C. Neff. New York, Doubleday, 1960. 455 p.

Comprises 33 essays by American statesmen, scholars, military experts and international businessmen. See Chapter 24, "The Strategic Role of Civil Defense," by Rogers Cannell, p. 320-335.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, JULY 1, 1961 to JUNE 30, 1962. U. S. Department of Defense. Washington, GPO, 1963. 430 p.

This report was made March 22, 1963, covering the fiscal year 1962. See Annual Report of the Office of Civil Defense, July 1, 1961 to June 30, 1962, p. 81-95.

CIVIL DEFENSE IN THE SOVIET UNION, by Leon Goure. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1962. 207 p.

An inquiry into the doctrine of Soviet Civil defense, and a description of the actual program that is being carried out.

CIVIL DEFENSE IN WESTERN EUROPE AND THE SOVIET UNION, Report of the Committee on Government Operations. Washington, GPO, 1959. 109 p. (U. S. Congress. 86th. 1st sess. House rpt. no. 300)

Systematic account of civil defense activities of eight NATO allies, and the Soviet Union as a great contending power.

CIVIL DEFENSE - 1962. U. S. Congress. 87th. 2d sess. House. Committee on Government Operations. Hearings. Washington, GPO, 1962. 2v.

Hearings held during February 1962, by the Military Operations Subcommittee, February 19-27, 1962. Part I contains the testimony of leading government officials on the subject; Part II the supporting documents.

THE COMMON DEFENSE: STRATEGIC PROBLEMS IN NATIONAL POLITICS, by Samuel P. Huntington. New York, Columbia University Press, 1961. 500 p.

A careful analysis and explanation of the military policy of the United States and its formulation during the period 1945-1960, with emphasis on the political process by which defense policy is made. See Section 27, "Civil Defense and Arms Limitation as Alternative Programs," p. 353-360.

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THE ECONOMICS OF DEFENSE IN THE NUCLEAR AGE, by Charles J. Hitch and Roland N. McKean. Santa Monica, Calif., The Rand Corporation, March 1960. (Rand Publication R-346) 422 p.

An examination of defense as an economic problem in order to determine the resources available for defense and the maximum achievement of military objectives with the given resources. See Chapter 17, "Mobilization, Civil Defense, and Recuperation," p. 312-333.

NONMILITARY DEFENSE FOR THE UNITED STATES; STRATEGIC, OPERATIONAL, LEGAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL ASPECTS, by William K. Chipman. Madison, University of Wisconsin, 1961. 613 p.

Part I deals with the problem of whether nonmilitary defense is necessary, and if necessary, possible. Part II outlines the systems required for effective nonmilitary defense. Part III discusses the legal and constitutional problems which must be resolved if the country is to have adequate defenses.

ON THERMONUCLEAR WAR, by Herman Kahn. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1960. 651 p.

A Rand analyst's summary and review of contemporary competing strategic arguments to which he has added his own stimulating ideas regarding future strategy. See Appendix IV, "A Proposed Civil Defense Program," p. 626-640.

THINKING ABOUT THE UNTHINKABLE, by Herman Kahn. New York, Horizon Press, 1962. 254 p.

A guide to future military and political realities explained in nontechnical terms by an important military strategist. See Chapter 3, "Thinking About Civil Defense," p. 81-100.

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THIRTEENTH DAY
MONDAY, 21 OCTOBER
(Afternoon)

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FOURTEENTH DAY
TUESDAY, 22 OCTOBER
(Morning)

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EXTERNAL RESEARCH ACTIVITIES AND NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY

1. Introduction.

a. Since World War II the United States Government has found that the need for scientific and technical advice in the field of national security has been greater than the capacity of traditional Government organizations to supply it. As both the development and the use of modern weapons have become increasingly intricate and costly, and as technology has increasingly affected all phases of military policy, numerous specialized entities have been formed to supply advice. In many cases the Government has relied on the scientific and technical laboratories of universities and private business groups, some of which have been formed to meet a specific need. In other cases the Government has established its own subsidized corporations independent of the Civil Service.

b. There are many advisory organizations now working on Government contracts. Well-known examples would include the Institute for Defense Analyses (IDA), the various branches of which advise several Government departments and agencies in addition to the Defense Department. The Rand Corporation, working chiefly for the Air Force,

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studies a large variety of topics including military strategy and tactics, political analysis and economics.

c. The growth of advisory organizations which operate outside of usual Government channels has raised questions. For some they tend to acquire a vested interest in a given area making it difficult to retain complete objectivity. In any case, they become more expensive and it was estimated that nearly \$12 billion was spent on outside studies in 1960. They are criticized for hiring away at higher pay some of the best brains of our civil and military service so that the taxpayer ends up paying more for the same efforts. On the other hand, such organizations working independently of the regular bureaucracies may be able to surmount some of the usual problems of red tape that are not found by a single point of view. They may complain that Government organizations having paid for their services do not heed or follow their advice.

2. Scope and Purpose of Topic.

To examine the influence of external research activities such as Rand, IDA, etc., on the formulation of national security policy.

3. Suggested Topics for Consideration.

These questions are posed, not as a guide for the formal lecture, but to stimulate individual study and analysis and for possible use in discussion groups.

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- a. How is the work of external research organizations in the field of national security translated into action?
- b. Should the emphasis on external research facilities be continued or should greater "in house" capabilities for research be developed by various departments, agencies, and services?
- c. How are policy conflicts between external research organizations themselves and between these corporations and Government entities to be resolved?
- d. How can the Federal Government assure that it is getting the best possible advice?

4. Lecture Title.

"EXTERNAL RESEARCH ACTIVITIES AND NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY."

5. Reading.

- a. IDEAS: A NEW DEFENSE INDUSTRY, by Edward L. Katzenbach, Jr. A reprint from The Reporter, March 2, 1961. p. 17-21
- b. RAND: ARSENAL FOR IDEAS, by Joseph Kraft. A reprint from Harper's, July 1960, p. 69-76.
- c. IDA'S 'BRAIN FACTORY' GUIDES WEAPONS CHOICE, by E. E. Halmos, Jr. A reprint from Missiles and Rockets, January 5, 1959, p. 20-21.

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FOURTEENTH DAY
TUESDAY, 22 OCTOBER
(Afternoon)

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FIFTEENTH DAY
WEDNESDAY, 23 OCTOBER
(Morning)

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THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE BUDGET

1. Introduction.

a. During FY 1964 expenditures for national defense are estimated at \$56.0 billion, an increase of \$2.6 billion over FY 1963 and about \$10.0 billion over FY 1960. These expenditures include \$51.0 billion for the military activities carried on by the Department of Defense, for military assistance to foreign countries, \$2.8 billion \$2.0 billion/in atomic energy, and \$133 million for defense related services. Almost 47% of the national budget is devoted to defense or defense related expenditures, including civil defense which is now carried under the defense classification. If International Affairs and Finance, and Space Activities are added, the total is 51%. Continuing payment for past wars are apart from this amount. The cost of the defense responsibilities of the United States throughout the world, which are growing faster than the nation's economy, is a source of increasing concern.

b. The FY 1963 Department of Defense Budget for military functions was the first to be developed under procedures recently introduced to integrate more closely and effectively the making of plans, programs and budgets. This procedure resulted in the development

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of a Five-Year Force Structure and Financial Plan, containing eight major defense programs, and a system for keeping this plan current on a continuing basis. Under this procedure, each defense program is developed in terms of principal military missions of the Defense Establishment rather than by military services. This approach features long-range projections of programs and comparisons of the cost effectiveness of alternative weapons systems. It also involves the continual review and adjustment of long-range objectives to conform with changes in the international situation and in military requirements and technology.

c. The Defense budget represents total funds necessary for all programs which today include Strategic Retaliatory Forces, Continental (Air and Missile) Defense Forces, General Purpose Forces, Sealift and Airlift Forces, Reserve Forces, Research and Development, General Support, Civil Defense, and Proposed Legislation. As indicated, the programs are developed in terms of military missions and may include one or all services. The Strategic Retaliatory Forces, for example, in addition to the Strategic Air Command, include Polaris submarines and their complement of missiles.

2. Scope and Purpose of the Topic.

To consider those factors which affect the preparation of the annual Department of Defense Budget. To examine the present system of

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preparing the budget, the budget cycle and the method of control of funds after allocation.

3. Suggested Topics for Consideration.

These questions are posed, not as a guide for the formal lecture, but to stimulate individual study and analysis and for possible use in discussion groups.

a. How is the integration of the service contributions into the various defense programs effected?

b. Is the Defense program approach a step toward functional command?

c. Do you consider limitations on national defense effort to be primarily economic or political?

d. How much can the United States afford to spend for defense in peacetime? What are the limiting factors?

e. If the U. S. national defense budget were increased materially, what effect would this have on the Soviet economy?

4. Lecture Title.

"THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE BUDGET."

5. Reading.

a. See reading in THE COMMON DEFENSE: STRATEGIC PROGRAMS IN NATIONAL POLITICS, by Samuel P. Huntington, listed under Fourth Day with particular emphasis on Chapter IV.

b. PROGRAM PACKAGES, by Chester E. Glassen and James R. Loome. A reprint from Army, July 1961, p. 37-39, 42-44.

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6. Bibliography.

THE COMMON DEFENSE; STRATEGIC PROBLEMS IN NATIONAL POLITICS, by Samuel P. Huntington. New York, Columbia University Press, 1961. 500 p.

An analysis of U. S. military policy and its formulation during the period 1945-1960, with emphasis on the political process by which defense policy is determined.

CONTROL OF EXPENDITURES FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE, by Francis W. Laurent. Madison, University of Wisconsin, 1960. 150 p.

A description of the laws governing the allocation of funds for defense purposes.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE APPROPRIATION BILL, 1962. REPORT. U. S. Congress. 87th. 2d sess. House. Committee on Appropriations. Washington, GPO, 1962. 65 p. (House rpt. no. 1607)

This report made April 13, 1962.

THE ECONOMICS OF DEFENSE IN THE NUCLEAR AGE, by Charles J. Hitch and Roland N. McKean. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1960. 422 p.

A RAND study which emphasizes the implications of the continuing revolution in defense technology, and considers such pre-attack problems of choice as that of shaping strategic forces-in-being.

STATEMENT OF SECRETARY OF DEFENSE ROBERT S. MCNAMARA BEFORE THE HOUSE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE; THE FISCAL YEAR 1964-68 DEFENSE PROGRAM AND 1964 DEFENSE BUDGET, JANUARY 30, 1963. Washington, 1963. 163 p.

Rundown of the Defense program plans for the next five years and the budget proposals for the coming fiscal year.

STRATEGY, POLITICS, AND DEFENSE BUDGETS, by Warner R. Schelling, Paul Y. Hammond and Glenn H. Snyder. New York, Columbia University Press, 1962. 532 p.

Discussion of the many factors involved in the protection of the U. S. against possible external military threats.

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FIFTEENTH DAY
WEDNESDAY, 23 OCTOBER
(Afternoon)

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SIXTEENTH DAY
THURSDAY, 24 OCTOBER
(Morning)

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COORDINATION AND CONTROL OF U. S. COUNTERINSURGENCY
EFFORTS

1. Introduction.

a. The U. S. has at its disposal a variety of resources and techniques to assist other nations in resisting communist subversion. To be effective these resources must be employed in a unified, coordinated manner and in programs tailored to meet the specific and varying needs of different areas or countries. These resources can be used ordinarily only where the state itself is desirous of combatting subversive insurgency, when it requests U. S. cooperation.

b. A small but very high-level organization was recently formed to insure that the policies and programs to counter subversive insurgency are clearly understood both at the departmental level and at the individual country team level. This group also coordinates the efforts of various departments and insures follow-up on specific programs.

c. An effective chain of command and control from the White House to the country team level is vital if policy decisions at the top and action in the field are to be correct, timely and effective. In this segment of the course we shall analyze the chain of command and control.

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2. Scope and Purpose of Topic.

To introduce the subject of counterinsurgency; to examine the means utilized for coordination and command control of United States efforts in combatting subversive insurgency from the Presidential level to the country team operation.

3. Suggested Topics for Consideration.

These questions are posed, not as a guide for the formal lecture, but to stimulate individual study and analysis and for possible use in discussion groups.

a. How and to what extent do governmental departments furnish guidance, supervision and policy decisions to their members on individual country teams?

b. How are coordination and control on policy decisions effected at the department level?

c. Is the "Task Force", as currently used, the type of control instrument best adapted to counterinsurgency efforts?

d. How can the highest authorities be assured that accepted policy is being actively pursued and fully coordinated at the country team level?

e. How does the unified commander fit into the coordination and command system?

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4. Lecture Title.

"COORDINATION AND CONTROL OF U. S. COUNTERINSURGENCY EFFORTS."

5. Reading.

a. PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S LETTER TO AMBASSADORS MADE PUBLIC. A reprint from Department of State News Letter, no. 8. December 1961, p. 3-4.

b. EXECUTIVE ORDER 10973: ADMINISTRATION OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE AND RELATED FUNCTIONS, by John F. Kennedy, 3 November 1961. A reprint from Federal Register, Vol. 26, no. 215, 7 November 1961, p. 10469-10470.

c. THE AMBASSADOR AND THE COUNTRY TEAM. Part IV. in Administration of National Security: Basic Issues. Washington, GPO, 1963, p. 9-16. (U. S. Congress. 88th 1st sess. Senate. Committee on Government Operations) (Committee Print)

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6. Bibliography.

THE EMERGING NATIONS: THEIR GROWTH AND UNITED STATES POLICY. Edited by Max F. Millikan and Donald L. M. Blackmer. A study from the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Boston, Little, Brown, 1961. 171 p.

A short scholarly analysis of developments in these new nations and their impact on American policy.

THE NEW NATIONS, PROSPECTS FOR SURVIVAL, by Hilton P. Goss. Santa Barbara, Calif., General Electric Co., 1962. 26 p.

An address before the 20th Annual Institute on World Affairs, San Diego, California, analyzing the prospects for survival of the new nations.

POLITICAL CHANGE IN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES: NATIONALISM AND COMMUNISM. Edited by John H. Kautsky. New York, Wiley, 1962. 347 p.

A collection of articles on the politics of underdevelopment; the impact of industrialization, nationalism, and communism on the socio-political future of the new countries; the outlook of the elites and intelligentsia; and the strength and attraction of totalitarian and democratic political systems.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SYMPOSIUM ON THE U. S. ARMY'S LIMITED-WAR MISSION AND SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH, WASHINGTON, 1962. Washington, Special Operations Research Office, The American University, 1962. 393 p.

A collection of papers concerned with the Army's counterinsurgency mission and social research. See session 4, "Sources of Turbulence in the New Nations," by Guy J. Pauker, p. 170-179, and session 6, "Political Factors: Modernization and Related Problems in Developing Nations," by Fred Greene, p. 263-281.

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SIXTEENTH DAY
THURSDAY, 24 OCTOBER
(Afternoon)

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SEVENTEENTH DAY
FRIDAY, 25 OCTOBER
(Morning)

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FINANCING NATIONAL SECURITY

1. Introduction.

a. Successful implementation of national security policy depends largely upon the adequacy of the funds made available to achieve the objectives of the policy. As our world-wide commitments increase and the need for large financial outlays continues, the problem of financing becomes even more serious.

b. Should the necessity arise there obviously would be no choice but to provide all the funds and resources required for victory regardless of cost. Short of such an emergency, however, we face the problem of determining how much of our gross national product should be devoted to defense spending. It has been contended that capitalist states can pave the way to their own destruction by overspending in the production of armaments and other defense measures. While security is undeniably paramount, it cannot be sought blindly without taking into consideration the other factors in our economic well-being. There is a limit to the amount of taxation which can be imposed upon our citizens and our business enterprises without reaching a point of diminishing returns, reduced incentives, and harmful practices. What is required is a prudent balance between defense spending and the economic health of the nation.

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c. In order to effect the necessary prudent balance in expenditures for national security, a system of checks is provided. The General Accounting Office, under the Comptroller General, checks on the legality of expenditures. Within the executive branch, the Department of the Treasury, the Council of Economic Advisors, and the Bureau of the Budget advise on matters of taxation and finance and upon the ability of the economy to sustain proposed levels of expenditures. Since money is the means of policy implementation, all the financial recommendations made by these governmental advisory agencies are recommendations on policy. This counsel is carefully weighed and considered.

d. The ultimate authority on the financing of national security policy, i. e., action on the President's proposed budget, resides in the Congress. This responsibility and authority is one of the most effective means of participation by the Congress in the formulation of national security policy.

2. Scope and Purpose of the Topic.

To study the cost aspects of national security policy, and to consider domestic, economic and political factors which affect the magnitude of the national security effort.

3. Suggested Topics for Consideration.

These questions are posed, not as a guide for the formal lecture, but to stimulate individual study and analysis and for possible use in discussion groups.

a. In what way does the fund appropriating power of the Congress exercise control over national security policy formulation?

b. What factors influence the congressional approach to defense appropriations in time of peace?

c. To what extent does the Bureau of the Budget determine military strategy by the apportionment process?

d. Considering the national, state and local tax burden now imposed on our citizenry, what is the possibility of stronger opposition developing against high taxes? What might be some possible effects of this development on our national security posture?

4. Lecture Title.

"FINANCING OF NATIONAL SECURITY."

5. Reading.

a. See reading in THE COMMON DEFENSE; STRATEGIC PROGRAMS IN NATIONAL POLITICS, by Samuel P. Huntington, listed under Fourth Day, with particular emphasis on Chapters IV and VI.

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6. Bibliography.

THE BUDGET OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1964. U. S. Bureau of the Budget. Washington, GPO, 1963. 440 p.

Includes the budget message of President Kennedy, his budgetary recommendations, and other significant data.

CONGRESSIONAL CONTROL OF FEDERAL SPENDING, by Robert Ash Wallace. Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 1960. 188 p.

An analysis of congressional participation in federal fiscal decisions and the resultant impact on the nation's economy.

FEDERAL BUDGET IN BRIEF, 1964. U. S. Bureau of the Budget. Washington, GPO, 1963. 64 p.

A summary of the 1964 budget sent to Congress January 17, 1963.

JOINT ECONOMIC REPORT; REPORT ON THE ECONOMIC REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT, 1963. U. S. Congress. Joint Economic Committee. Washington, GPO, 1963. 114 p. (U. S. Congress. 88th. 1st sess. Senate. Rpt. no. 78)

Report of the Committee, with supplemental and dissenting views, and the economic outlook for 1963, prepared 14 March 1963.

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF NATIONAL SECURITY; A STUDY OF THE ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE CONTEMPORARY POWER STRUGGLE, by James R. Schlesinger. New York, Praeger, 1960. 292 p.

An analysis of national policies in economic, political and sociological terms.

TRENDS IN PUBLIC EXPENDITURES IN THE NEXT DECADE, by Otto Eckstein. New York, Committee for Economic Development, 1959. 56 p.

A long-range budget estimate which includes high, medium, and low projections in such fields as DCD, NASA and Foreign Aid Programs.

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